1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)[illegible]

It is almost impossible to give an account of a typical daily economic routine for men and women. Activities vary greatly in terms of nights of the moon, conditions of tide and weather, number of members in the household and their ages, the occurrence of deaths, births, and marriages, and nowadays the day of the week. Fishing is governed almost entirely by moon and tide conditions; one day a man may fish early in the morning, the next day, late in the evening, and on a third day, he may fish all night and not at all during daylight. Deep-sea fishing is more frequent toward the end of the week, when it is necessary to lay in supplies to cover the workless day of Sunday, and just before feasts. Where there are several adult members of the household, some men fish while others gather nuts and work around the village. Where there is only one male in the household and several small children, the father is busy all the time with the most varied activities. The amount of cooking done by the woman depends on the amount of fishing done by the male members of the household, the occurrence of feasts, and the day of the week. The woman goes to her taro beds about twice a week to cultivate and to fetch taro for cooking. Cooking is simple at the beginning of the week, but for the weekly Sabbath feast much trouble is taken and cooking goes on for the most of the preceding day. Wet weather is best for mat making because the pandanus elements become soft and pliable. Continued rain throughout the day sends a woman to her plaiting, no matter what else she had previously planned to do.

Organization of Work

The main occupations of Pukapukan economic life—fishing, house building, cultivation, canoe building, and today copra making—all require some form of cooperation, whether of a simple or complex type. The determining factors are the type of work, kinship, locality, and sex. The size of the working group depends on the importance of the event or the magnitude of the work. Deep-sea fishing, mat making, and cooking can be performed with only a simple combination of labor, that is, all workers carry out the same activities. The fishing may be simply cooperative, as when men from one or more households fish together to provide food for a prospective feast, or competitive, when the men of each village fish together as a group in competition with men from the other villages. Mat making is usually done by only one woman, but when the household supply of mats is depleted and it is necessary to make mats for a coming wedding, a woman invites her friends or relatives to participate in a small working party. Several women come together and each works on a section of the mat, or else one takes over the plaiting when the first worker tires. The workers are fed during the time they are assisting in the task.

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Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to fulfil them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pale*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognized as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 [378] Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 626 461

Te giraf' ote, mako gigiko,	Pig scrolling, mako stinking,
E kini ya wano la tau	(He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)
Telou la ki ni wakapuya	(He has) placed himself in nowhere
Kae mau loa e no ni.	No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

223 crab (*ungu*) or, alternately, a bait of small periwinkle meats or centipedes (*veti*) is tied to the ends of each of several lines which are laid across the beach, the other ends being fastened to a near-by tree or to stakes. The birds swallow the baits, are unable to disgorge them, can not fly away, and are caught. *Kawa* and *matibu* birds are caught thus with *ungu* bait, *veti* with periwinkle or centipede bait.

7. **Fowling line, generally used to catch sea birds.**

A length of sinnet line is attached at one end of a pole from 6 to 9 feet long. A piece of coral stone weighing about 2 ounces is fastened to the free end of the line. When a bird has been attracted close to the tree in which the catcher hides, or when it circles low over the beach, the line is thrown out. The weight of the stone carries the line round the bird. The line encircles the bird several times and entangles its wings. It is then drawn to the catcher. No decoy birds were used in this method of bird catching, nor was the stone weight shaped in any way. The use of line, shaped stone, and decoy bird is reported for Aporoma by Woodford (1929:254), the use of line and shaped weight for Vaitupu (1929:254), and for Nauru (1429:269).

House Building

342 476 The framework for small houses is erected by the owner and a few of his friends. If a big house is contemplated and speed is required, the kinship group is mobilised and the work continued until the frame is completed. The able-bodied men work on the frame while the older men work near by making the sennit for the lashings. Today the framework of most small houses is fitted together in some shady, cool place whether the actual site of the new house is unoccupied or already occupied by an old house which is to be replaced. When the frame is completed, it is taken to pieces, transported to the house site and there put together again. The roof framework is fixed together permanently at the work site and then bodily transported to the house site. In big houses, however, the frame is usually erected on the house site in the first instance. The house framework is usually built during the cooler weather just after the winds swing round to the southeast.

342 Unless the house is very small, the thatching (whether of a new or old house) is done by a working party. The sides and ends of each roof are divided into sections (*mwanga* or *tufa*) of a certain width running from eaves to ridgepole. Two to three sections are generally reckoned for the side of an average house. The pile of roof sheets for each section is termed *yinaki lau*. The type of thatching desired, whether *ato tolo* or *ato yinaki*, and the distance between each successive roof sheet is specified beforehand.

342 476 431 The owner of the house arranges with as many friends as necessary, each to assume responsibility for preparing the roof sheets and sennit, and for thatching one section of the house. Each man may elect to do all the work himself or he may call in a group of friends to help him with his section. The work is paid for by a food division, one share being set aside for each section that has been contracted out. This share is redivided among the helpers in each section. The amount of food constituting a share depends

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their taro and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialisation in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mauutu* or *tangata tau waiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Payments

Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakeyina te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*natunga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakeyinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakeyinga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*matinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *nau*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit *matalo* and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, five *matua* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *matua*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *matua*, each woman five *matua*, each child one *matua*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu himine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,600 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/ [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotanga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupale*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotanga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotanga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe sumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-mui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.